1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Bushman language groups, Auen, Naron or /Kõ, to the south, or with other /Kung whom the Nyae Nyae /Kung know to be living to the north-east and north-west of them.

The S.W.A. and B.P. governments administer the region as it lies within the territory of each but not as a unit in itself. The /Kung have developed no internal political organization to unite their bands. The unity of the region exists, in so far as we know, only in the minds of its /Kung population and in the fact of their intermarrying and being held together in a net of kinship and affinity.

About 1,000 /Kung live in the region. Roughly three-quarters of them live in 28 bands and are nomadic hunters and gatherers with no agriculture, herds, or beasts of burden. Approximately another fourth work for Chwana and Herero on their cattle posts on the periphery of the region. Most of these still have connexions with the interior bands and intermarry among them. In the interior there are no inhabitants other than /Kung, and no European or Bantu institutions modify the old /Kung way of life.

My study of /Kung marriage regulations is based on data derived during the years 1952–3 specifically from 14 bands with which we had the most contact and on which we gathered considerable genealogical material. These bands varied in size from 8 to 57 persons, averaging 25, with a total of 353. The marriage status of these persons as of 1952–3 is given in Fig. 1.

FIG. 1. *The Marriage status of a sample of 353 persons*

Married men (9 of them had 2 wives)	88
Wives of above men	97
Old widowers	3
Old bachelors	1
Old widows	24
Young widows	2
Young divorced women	2
Unmarried boys, adolescent and younger	78
Unmarried girls, adolescent and younger	58
Total	353

/Kung social organization is of the 'Eskimo' type, as defined by Murdock.[1] Theirs is the sub-type, which varies from normal Eskimo in that polygyny occurs and extended families are common instead of independent nuclear families in neolocal residence. Other characteristics are normal Eskimo. Descent is reckoned bilaterally. There are no exogamous unilinear kin groups. There is bilateral extension of the incest taboo. Cousin terms[2] are the same for cross and parallel cousins and cousins are differentiated terminologically from siblings. One term is applied to both FaBr and MoBr, another to both FaSi and MoSi, and these terms differ from the terms for parents.

As we examine their rules of exogamy we find that the band is not an exogamous unit as such. Actually most members of the band are so interrelated by consanguinity or affinity that the marriage regulations strictly prohibit their intermarrying,

[1] G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, Macmillan Co., 1949, pp. 223, 226–8.

[2] For the terms and for special features of the system see Lorna Marshall: 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, No. 1, Jan. 1957.

[13 cont.]

Chapter 4

The Bushmen of Ukuambi

115 At an outpost of the Finnish Ukuambi Mission, where I undertook anthropological measurements, I encountered a Bushman from the hordes that live on the northern bank of the Etosha Pan and stand in a loose dependent relationship partly with Ipumbo, partly with Shanika. I was able to converse with him only a few hours.

101 These Bushmen in Ukuambi, as well as at other places, belong to the Ezimo of the Akuanambua. They themselves are [614] divided into a number of exogamous kin groups. My informant belonged to the clan Ari-Ari. The tribe calls itself Akese or Kere and comes from the region between Okaukuejo and Outjo. Today this tribal organization is broken up. The following names -- formerly independent hordes which now live mixed together -- were mentioned to me: /Aru-Kwe, Ashuche, Asécha, !Kuru-Kwei, A !Kha-ta-bé, A-Hei-tére, A !gnuri.

648 Insofar as these Bushmen do not already lead the life of the Bantu farmers, they are hunters, spies, and occasionally also executioners for the chiefs. They manufacture ostrich egg beads [+39] and poison. For twelve good ostrich eggs they receive a fat ox. The Ovambo have quite a peculiar outlook in this respect. They spurn the perfectly good eggs of their hens. The ordinarily somewhat "disreputable" ostrich eggs are purchased for dear money as a delicacy.

611 The sons belong to the family of the father, the daughters to that of the mother. The men are not allowed to eat hares, 262 but the women and children do. The eating of hyenas and boa constrictors is prohibited to all.

776 Concerning their religious conceptions I was able to discover the following: In the sky dwells the great captain !Khuwa, which means the same as Huwe. In answer to the question about God, however, he stated that this was Erob, which naturally coincides with the name for God, Ellob, of the Rhenish Mission. The name !Khuwa only occurred casually in the conversation. He was unable to give a clear answer to my question as to whether

[39 cont.]

411 The head is made of a quadrangular piece of iron 30 to 40 centimeters long and set into the shaft with a short connective piece. The shaft is reinforced at this point by a winding of iron wire. [40] [Fig. 12 appears here.]

[41] Musical Instruments

534 [439] Large dance drums are very popular, but are not made by the !Kung themselves; they are obtained in trade from the Okawango. Once, when I purchased such a drum from a trader of ostrich egg beads in the region of Kuntsas (the drum always be- [422] longs to a specific person; collective ownership of utilitarian objects is unknown among the Bushmen), he asked me to let him keep the drum until evening so that each man would be able to drum once more. The dance rattles made of fruit are no longer to be found except in very small numbers. The !Kung are also supposed to possess wooden trumpets used on special occasions. I have never seen them.

413 [304] Finally a small number of special utilitarian objects should be mentioned. In practicing their calling, the doctors use cupping glasses, made of antelope horn, and blunt little sticks to knock out 177 teeth. Poisons and medicines are now manufactured and cooked 415 in empty tin cans; in fact, tin cans and tin gasoline containers are 278 gradually becoming universal objects even among the Bushmen. 805 Messenger sticks or calendar sticks are made on special occasions; 211 these are little staffs or little boards with one or two rows of holes. For example, if I tell the Bushman that I will return in five months, he will draw a string through five of the holes and knot it. At each full moon, the string is drawn back one hole.

12. Social Organization

622 [614] [888] [623] Each kin group has a chief, whose position is hereditary. To be sure, his powers are insignificant because one's whole life is public, so to speak, and the authority of the old men is so great that the decisions arrived at are essentially agreements BETWEEN THE CHIEF AND THE OTHER OLD MEN.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 25]

[42 cont.]

178 He died when his successor, Amme, was still a small boy. Amme,
622 however, was unable [43] to learn much from his father; he was not a good chief, and he died while still young. Since then the !Kung Bushmen have not had a supreme chief. One of my informants, Doctor X'amme, claimed to be the great-grandson of the great chief of the same name.

The following from Von Zastrow and Vedder (1) should

1. Op. cit., pp. 412, 424.

be mentioned:

593 "The father is the chief of the family. All must respect
596 him. Children may not call him by name. -- The chief's posi-
622

[276]

Fig. 15. Dacha Pipe of the !Kung Bushmen (from the Lindenmuseum, Stuttgart, 29464).

tion is generally passed from father to son. If the son is not yet an adult when his father dies, the father's younger brother takes
423 his place. Each kin group has a territory that has been inherited
614 from ancient times. The territory is called Gao and might correspond to the German concept Gau [canton, district].

"There are kin groups that are so far apart that a journey of several days lies between them. For example, the territory north of the Omuramba-Owambo near Kajus, where the manketti tree (Ricinodendrum bantaneni) occurs, belongs to a kin group that ordinarily lives over 100 kilometers away and comes there only when the oleaginous fruit is ripe.

"Kin groups with two hunting and gathering regions come into being through the fusion of two kin groups that have intermarried for so long that fusion came about automatically.

[43 cont.]

423 614 769 "The graves of the ancestors are within the kin group's territory. They are marked by the large piles of stone placed on them. The ancestors are regarded as the guardians of the kin group's territory. Hence, departure from the territory must be announced by the chief or an elder at the ancestral grave without special ceremonies; similarly, an announcement must be made there when the kin group again moves into the territory."

423 614 The property of the kin group, aside from its territory, includes the veldkost, the game, and, above all, the watering place.

13. Illnesses and Treatment

826 The anatomical knowledge of the Bushmen is quite extensive as a result of their way of life as hunters.

[761] The heart is regarded as the seat of life, and the breath has some connection with the heart. Their surgical knowledge is 752 757 confined to the extraction of thorns by means of an awl-like instrument and to the relatively effective bandaging of hand and leg 278 fractures. Their supply of medicines, on the other hand, is very limited. In what follows, I shall list the common illnesses and their treatment.

Eye Inflammation

752 Both dry and exudative eye inflammations, caused by sand and irritating grass seeds, are extremely widespread, and blear eyes are the rule among older people. These diseases, however, are not nearly as grave among the !Kung living in the forest as, say, among the Bushmen of the western Kalahari or among those [826] of Naukluft. Among the latter, blear eyes are even regarded as signs of beauty in young girls. Ordinary eye inflammations that pass in a short period of time mean nothing. They are treated by [753] rubbing with fat. If the ailment lasts for a longer period of time, then //Gauab [Fig. 16 appears here] certainly had something to [755] do with it; the doctor is called in and, after some treatment, produces a "little black medicine" from the eye.

[59 cont.]

20. Law

671 627 The norms of natural law among the Bushmen are the same as among us. The family head is at the same time the supreme judge. Since even the nearest kin group is regarded in a sense as a foreign state, however, the boundaries between law, war, and vengeance are exceedingly fluid. The domain of law, therefore, is actually confined to the family. Since the only [681] punishment that can be effectively inflicted is the death penalty, it is rarely applied among married men, [60] for the judges and executioners must provide for the condemned man's survivors. In olden times the women condemned to death were burned or beaten to death with the kirri, and the men were killed with the poisoned arrow.

423 The right to personal possession of utilitarian objects, honey, and certain types of veldkost is strictly respected. The soil is common property of the kin group, as is any big game [224] that is killed. If a wounded animal dies in the domain of the neighboring kin group, the hunter must go there and report it. [578] The dead prey must then be divided. Since, however, there are some unpaired organs, fighting and killing easily arise concern- [627] ing them. Blood vengeance is practiced, but can be resolved through negotiation.

423 "Each kin group has a territory that has been inherited ●614 from ancient times. The territory is called Gao and might correspond to the German concept Gau [canton, district].

[361] "There are kin groups that are so far apart that a journey of several days lies between them. For example, the territory north of the Omuramba-Owambo near Kajus, where the manketti tree (Ricinodendrum bantaneni) occurs, belongs to a kin group that ordinarily lives over 1,000 [sic] kilometers away and comes there only when the oleaginous fruit is ripe.

"Kin groups with two hunting and gathering regions, come into being through the fusion of two kin groups that have intermarried for so long that fusion came about automatically.

769 614 "The graves of the ancestors are within the kin group's territory. They are marked by the large piles of stone placed on them. The ancestors are regarded as the guardians of the kin group's

[60 cont.]

769 614 territory. Hence, departure from the territory must be announced by the chief or an elder at the ancestral grave without special ceremonies; similarly, an announcement must be made there when the kin group again moves into the territory."

423 614 The property of the kin group, aside from its territory, includes the veldkost, the game, and, above all, the watering place (1).

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, op. cit., p. 434.

775 [626] As has already been said, the Bushman does not believe in punishment after death. On the other hand, he is convinced that the evil that he himself has done will befall him or his dogs in the same way.

681 648 177 In former times banishment from the kin group was likewise customary, and the exile would soon perish, since the Bushman cannot survive by himself in the wilderness for any length of time. Nowadays, such individuals, just like those who were expelled from the Bantu tribes, move to land owned by Europeans and find work there. It is obvious that they do not help to improve the reputation of the Coloreds.

695 In cases of doubt, the Bushman swears by the great captain: nu X'u.

681 762 Instead of formal expulsion, the people may boycott outlaws, who are thereby driven to such despair that they commonly commit suicide. Suicides also occur for other reasons.

21. Conflicts with Europeans

645 Before the police zone boundary was erected, the Bushmen found themselves in a latent state of war with their neighbors. Part of their list of sins will be cited here.

According to Toke, the !Kung near Keibeb in 1925 attacked eight Barotse [Lozi] and killed them, and purportedly ate them. Later, three Ovambo were attacked by surprise, killed,

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

male relatives of the chief with their wives and families.[1] The relationship to one another of the families in the bands of the other North-Western tribes is not indicated by our authorities. It is reasonable, however, to expect that most of them at least will be similarly connected, since as a rule married sons with their wives and children will remain together in the same band as their father, while married daughters will leave it to join the bands of their husbands. Moreover, in case of divorce the children remain with their father, and although unweaned children must go with their mother, they can be claimed later by him if he likes.[2]

Dornan says that "the Bushmen of the Kalahari are divided into many small clans",[3] but the term "clan", as used by him, applies sometimes to what has here been called a tribe, and sometimes to a hunting band. He speaks also of exogamous "totemic families" and "totemic clans" among the Hiechware and adjoining tribes, but admits that here the occurrence of this "totemism" is the result of Bantu influence.[4] There is no evidence yet that definitely goes to show the existence of totemism among any of the other Bushman peoples.

Nor, as far as can be seen at present, is there any real clan organization among the Bushmen.[5] The bands of the Cape and Namib Bushmen and of the !O Kung are certainly not clans, while the little we know of the social structure of the band among the North-Western Bushmen does not in itself justify our regarding them as such. There is also nothing at all to indicate the existence of a clan organization cutting across the system of grouping into hunting bands.

It must again be emphasized, however, that our knowledge of the social organization of the Bushmen is fragmentary, and that there are many questions relating to the structure of the band about which no adequate information is available. We are nowhere told clearly, for instance, how membership of the band is determined among the North-Western Bushmen.[6] In general it would seem that children

[1] Op. cit., 86. [2] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 34; Kaufmann, op. cit., 157.
[3] *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 67. [4] Op. cit., 161; cf. 68, 128.
[5] The *clan* is commonly defined as "an exogamous, unilateral group of persons all the members of which are held to be related to one another and bound together by a common tie. This tie may be a belief in common descent from some ancestor, real or mythical, it may be the common possession of a totem, or the common habitation of a village or district" (*Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, 5th ed., p. 55). A patrilineal clan is one of which membership is determined by descent traced through the male line, i.e. a person belongs to the clan of his father and his clansmen are related to him primarily through his father. A matrilineal clan is one in which descent is similarly traced through the mother.
[6] Lebzelter, in his preliminary account of the Kung (op. cit.), says curtly (p. 14) that a boy belongs to the family of his father, a girl to that of her mother ("Die Knaben gehoren zur Sippe des Vaters, die Mädchen zu der der Mutter"). This statement is at variance with all so far known about the Bushmen, and needs to be confirmed before it can be accepted as accurate.